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ABSTRACT

The problem of assimilation of immigrants was analyzed in the general framework of intercultural communication and culture learning. Results from a survey of 64 first-generation Polish immigrants in Victoria, Canada supported this theoretical approach. It was found that assimilation into Canadian culture was positively related to number of interactions with Canadians and exposure to Canadian mass media, and negatively related to interactions with other Polish immigrants and exposure to Polish communications media. However, the specific nature of the impact of interactions and media on cultural assimilation appeared to vary, depending on the particular roles which interpersonal or media communication play in the learning of various culture contents. Immigrants who were more highly assimilated attained higher degrees of economic success in Canadian society. (RB)

Communication and Assimilation of Polish Immigrants in British Columbia:

An Exploration in Culture Learning[1]

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Assimilation has long been considered to be a basic social process (Park and Burgess, 1924; Park, 1930) generated by culture contact. As noted by Beals (1951; 1953) as well as by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936), assimilation needs to be conceptually distinguished from acculturation. The generally accepted distinction seems to be the one proposed by Broom, Siegel, Vogt, and Watson (1954) for the Social Science Research Council seminar. Acculturation, according to Broom et al, refers to "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems." Acculturation may take a variety of forms. The interacting cultures may develop into a genuine third cultural system through a process of fusion, as has happened to invading and resident cultures in Mexico and in China (Broom et al, 1954). One culture may reactively adapt to the presence of the other by withdrawal, as exemplified by the response of the French-Canadians to the British during the 18th Century (Denton, 1966). The interacting cultures may develop into a state of stabilized pluralism, which is said to exist to some extent in Canada (Richmond, 1969). Or the culture contact may result in social disintegration of one of the interacting cultures, as witnessed among the Cree Indian tribes (Chance and Trudeau, 1963). When members of one interacting culture adopt some of the traits, ideas, and materials of the other culture in order to participate in the latter, the process is referred to as assimilation, or "cultural assimilation" as suggested by Gorgon (1964).

Research in assimilation by sociologists has largely centered on immigrants,

whose adjustment to new cultural environments appears to follow the process discussed by Broom et al. In more recent studies, assimilation of immigrants has been examined in relation to elite structures (Eisenstadt, 1951; 1954), to ethnic primary groups (Horobin, 1957), to kinship support (Barnett, 1960; Beckett, 1965), to institutional completeness of the ethnic group (Breton, 1964), to acquisitive value orientations (Weinstock, 1964), to generational and regional differences (Fong, 1965), and to ethnic concentration (Jones, 1967). Theoretically, the study of immigrants is believed to be illuminating because it can illustrate (1) the learning of new cognitive orientations and behavioral norms when a person transfers his membership fron one cultural group to another, and (2) the social functions of such cognitive and behavioral learning. It is the purpose of this research to identify two major conditions for cultural assimilation, using immigrants in Canada as a case, and to trace some of the social and economic consequences of cultural assimilation.

Adopting the general frame of reference of Broom et al, but more specifically following Taft (1957) and Gordon (1964), we shall operationally define cultural assimilation as the acquisition of the behavioral norms, value orientations, knowledge, and identity of the host society. Cultural assimilation in this sense may be considered a special case of socialization (LeVine, 1969). While socialization refers to the learning of behavioral norms, values, and knowledge by new members whom a group acquires through birth, cultural assimilation refers to both unlearning of the old and learning of the new by individuals whose memberships have been moved from one group to another. In the process of socialization, a new member learns everything that is necessary for adequate functioning in the human group he belongs to. In the process of cultural assimilation, the unlearning and learning involve only those aspects

in which the two groups differ.

Viewing cultural assimilation as a special case of socialization permits certain deductions. In order for unlearning to take place, the old must be extinguished through the withdrawal of reward. We assume that the less frequently an immigrant interacts with members of his own ethnic group, the less likely his old behavioral norms and value orientations will be reinforced and the more likely unlearning of the old will take place. This may account for the findings by Horobin (1957) and Jones (1967) that contact with own ethnic group members retards assimilation to the new society. Conversely, in order for learning to take place, the new must be elicited and reinforced. We assume that the more frequently an immigrant interacts socially with members of the host society, the more likely the new behavioral norms and value orientations will be learned. This assumption is consistent with the suggestion (Beshers et al, 1964) that the reduction of barriers of interaction between an ethnic group and the native population contributes to the former's assimilation. Some of the anthropological findings appear to bear out this relation too. For instance, the Attawapiskat Indians on James Bay went through a degree of cultural assimilation following their interaction with the white missionaries who had come to their land (Honigmann, 1958). The Subarctic Metis, noted for their relatively close contact with the whites, were found to have assimilated many traits of the white culture (Slobodin, 1964).

While the interaction theme appears to run through many of the assimilation studies, it needs to be explicitly tested further through empirical measures. We propose that one major condition for the cultural assimilation of immigrants is the relative frequency of interaction with members of the host society vs. members of the immigrants' own ethnic group. By interaction, we refer to

social contact at the primary level, as suggested by Park and Burgess (1924). Our Hypothesis 1 asserts: Cultural assimilation of immigrants will be positively related to the frequency of interaction with members of the host society and negatively related to the frequency of interaction with members of their own ethnic group.

However, face-to-face communication need not be the only way whereby immigrants can learn the content of the host culture. Research in mass communication has demonstrated that exposure to mass media is related to social changes akin to cultural assimilation. For instance, users of mass communication in developing countries have been found to have modern ideas and knowledge (Damle, 1956; Deutschman, 1963), and to have attitudes and values quite different from the traditional ones (Chu, 1966). In Canada, Fortin (1961) reported how during World War II communication with the outside through the radio brought about social change to a French-speaking agricultural parish. From these findings we assume that an immigrant who makes more frequent use of the mass media in the new society will learn more about its culture content, and therefore will be more highly assimilated. On the other hand, an immigrant who still makes considerable use of the mass media from his own ethnic group would be expected to have more difficulty unlearning the old and, therfore, to be less highly assimilated. Thus we propose that the second major condition for the cultural assimilation of immigrants is the relative extent to which they are exposed to mass media from the host society vs. mass media from their own ethnic group. Hypothesis 2 asserts: Cultural assimilation of immigrants will be positively related to the extent of exposure to mass media from the host society and negatively related to the extent of exposure to mass media from their own ethnic group.

Next, we shall examine the social and economic consequences of cultural assimilation. Gordon (1954; 1964) and Vallee et al (1957) have made a distinction between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. While the former refers to change of cultural patterns to those of the host society, as used in our Hypotheses 1 and 2, the latter refers to the process by which the immigrants assume roles in general civic life and thus enter the institutional structure of the receiving society. Although Park did not use the term "structural assimilation," he evidently was referring to the same process when he spoke of the political and economic participation of the immigrants in the common life of the host community (Park, 1930).

Gordon appears to take the position that cultural assimilation is likely to be the first kind of assimilation to occur through culture contact, and it may or may not be accompanied or followed by structural assimilation (1964: 77). However, following Aberle et al (1950), it would be reasonable to assume that those immigrants who have come to share the knowledge, behavioral norms, and value orientations of the host society would find it easier to function and participate in its general civic life. We shall be particularly interested in two kinds of participation as suggested by Park: 1. political participation, defined as participation in the process of group decision making that will affect one's own interest; and 2. economic participation, defined as engagement in productive activities. Treating the extent of cultural assimilation as the independent variable, we propose Hypothesis 3: Immigrants who are more highly assimilated culturally will attain a higher degree of political and economic participation.

METHODS

The data were collected from 64 first generation Polish immigrants in Victoria, British Columbia, in February 1969.[2] The Polish group was chosen for a number of reasons. First, the Polish culture has been adequately described (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927) and considered different from that of North America in important ways. Secondly, lacking any particular physical distinctiveness, the Polish immigrants will not likely face such interaction barriers as may confront the North American Indians, and thus we may expect considerable variation in the extent of their interactions. Thirdly, the local Polish Association had available the addresses of most Polish families in Victoria.[3] All the Polish families known to the association were contacted. In each family the male head was interviewed in his home by a college student. A structured interview schedule of both multiple-choice items and open-ended questions was used. The rate of completed interviews was 94 per cent, excluding one recent death, two out of town, and one refusal to continue half way through. Each interview lasted about an hour and a half in average. Co-operation was generally good.

RESULTS

Most of the respondents came to Canada as refugees shortly after World War II or a few years later.[4] At the time of the survey, 86 per cent (55) of them had taken up Canadian citizenship, and 94 per cent (60) owned their houses. Their median age was about 52, most of them being in the 40 to 59 range. Their median education level was about eighth grade.[5] Except for six who had retired, all were gainfully employed, including 39 unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, 12 skilled laborers, 3 clericals, and 4 professionals.[6]

Cultural assimilation was measured by six indicators: child rearing norms,

food preparation norms, value orientations, knowledge about Canadian events, language preference, and cultural group identity.[7] Each indicator consisted of several items treated as a scale. A respondent was considered more highly assimilated if he departed from the Polish norms of child rearing, prepared food in Canadian rather than Polish style, had value orientations far removed from traditionalism, knew more about Canadian current events, preferred to use English when both languages were equal alternatives, and identified himself more closely with Canadians than with Poles.

The independent variables in Hypothesis 1 were: social interactions with Canadians, social interactions with Poles, and relative preference of outgroup (Canadian) vs. ingroup (Polish) interactions.[8] For Hypothesis 2, the independent variables were: exposure to Canadian mass media, and exposure to Polish mass media.[9] For testing Hypotheses 1 and 2, the five independent variables were used in a multiple regressional analysis for each of the indicators of cultural assimilation.[10] In addition, we included in the analysis two other variables: level of formal education, and facility in the use of English.[11] These two variables were included in order to check the possibility that the correlations between the independent variables and assimilation might be spurious due to the influence of education and language facility. Table 1 presents the bivariate correlations, the multiple correlations, and (shown in parentheses) the beta weights in the multiple regressional equations.

(Table 1 about here)

The overall findings in Table 1 appear to render support to both Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2. The independent variables, taken as a whole, were significantly correlated with language preference ($R=.72$, $F=8.61$, $df=7/56$, $p<.001$), with value orientations ($R=.55$, $F=3.47$, $df=7/56$, $p<.01$), with knowledge about

Canadian events (R=.56, F=3.66, df=7/56, $p < .01$), with child rearing norms (R=.49, F=2.53, df=7/56, $p < .05$), and with cultural group identity (R=.45, F-2.41, df=6/57, $p < .05$).[12] The multiple correlation with food preparation norms approached the significant level (R=.45, F=2.03, df=7/56, p about .06). More noteworthy, however, is the finding that the relative interactions and exposure to mass media appear to have different relations with different aspects of cultural assimilation.

Those immigrants who used the Canadian mass media more extensively and who tended to prefer interacting with Canadians rather than other Poles, appeared more likely to have departed from Polish child rearing norms. Although education is also related to assimilation in child rearing norms, it does not override the contributions of use of Canadian mass media and preference of outgroup vs. ingroup interactions, as we can see from the beta weights in the regression equation. Interactions with Poles as such and exposure to Polish mass media did not have much to do with whether an immigrant would follow or deviate from the Polish norms in this respect. It may be noted that child rearing practices involve not only the parents, but also the children. Usually the children, becoming assimilated in the new culture rather quickly, resent being treated in the old way. In other words, for parents' unlearning of the old, the withdrawal of reinforcement comes mainly through the behavior of the children, not through lack of contact with other immigrants or lack of exposure to the old culture through their own ethnic media. Viewed in this perspective, we can see that interactions with own ethnic group and use of ethnic media would largely be irrelevant. Assimilation in child rearing norms would depend on whether the parents have learned something from the new society to replace the old. The data suggest that only those immigrants

who are in close touch with the natives and with their culture will be able to do so.

Style of food preparation, however, is found related only to interactions with Poles and exposure to Polish media. Although language facility was also correlated with food preparation norms, the low beta weight in the regressional equation indicates its relative insignificance as a predictor by itself. Unlike child rearing norms, how a family prepares its food is largely up to one of the parents, the mother. In this case, food preparation is probably not so much a matter of learning the Canadian style--in which the immigrant housewife will be assisted by many convenient, prepacked varieties--but rather a matter of taking the trouble to do it the old way despite the inconveniences involved. This possibility is suggested by the comments voluntarily offered by a number of respondents that preparing food in the Polish style takes too much time. Thus, it would appear that only those families which are in close touch with other Polish people and with the Polish culture are sufficiently reinforced to maintain the old style of food preparation.

Whether an immigrant will come to identify more closely with the host society than with his own ethnic group, the data suggest, seems to depend largely on the frequency of his interactions with other immigrants. This is the only significant bivariate correlation found ($r=.36$, $p<.01$), that is, the more frequently an immigrant interacts with his own people, the less likely will he identify with the host society. It would seem that since an immigrant is already residing in the new country and surrounded with symbols calling for identification with the new cultural group, he will tend to take on the new identity regardless of his frequency of interactions with the natives. Whether he will actually do so would then depend on the strength of

forces that may hold him back. The data would suggest that those who frequently interacted with other Poles were subject to a greater hold-back force. Such an interpretation is consistent with the nearly significant correlation between cultural identity and education (r= -.19) which has a relatively high beta weight. The fact that all the 64 respondents received their formal education in Poland would suggest that the higher their education, the deeper their anchorage in the Polish culture, and thus the stronger the forces that hold them to the old identity.

Language assimilation, as measured by a preference to use English rather than Polish, would necessarily be related to language facility, as we have found. However, facility in English is only a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition for preferring to use English when both languages are applicable. The data indicate that the immigrant who prefers to use English under those circumstances tends to be one who not only has considerable facility in English but who interacts frequently with Canadians and infrequently with other Poles. From the beta weights we can see that interactions with Canadians constitute the most important factor for language assimilation, probably because such interactions not only provide more practice but also help form a habit of using English. It may be noted that former education in Poland by itself was not conducive to language assimilation.

Non-traditional value orientations are found positively related to exposure to Canadian mass media, English language facility, and preference of outgroup (Canadian) interactions, and negatively related to exposure to Polish mass media. Although the correlation with former education is positive and significant, its near-zero beta weight suggests that in and by itself education plays a non-significant role. Looking at the beta weights as well as the bivariate

correlations, we can see that the acquisition of value orientations that are considered to be North American (Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961) appears to be more a matter of using Canadian instead of Polish media than a matter of relative interactions with the two groups. This corroborates some of the previously cited findings that communication from mass media can be an agent of culture change. It may be noted that the measures of value orientations involve decision-making problems not frequently encountered in face-to-face interactions. This may account for the findings that interactions play a lesser role than exposure to mass media in this aspect of cultural assimilation.

Knowledge about Canadian events are positively related to the use of Canadian mass media, a finding consistent with what we generally know from mass communication research in other countries. The near-zero correlation between current knowledge and exposure to Polish media is understandable because the Polish media reported only on events concerning Polish communities in Canada, not public affairs of the country. The nearly significant correlation with outgroup (Canadian) interactions is consistent with findings from communication research (e.g. Deutschmann and Danielson, 1960) that interpersonal channels play a role in the transmission of public affairs knowledge. Knowledge is also highly correlated with language facility, presumably because both the use of Canadian media and interactions with Canadians assume language facility as a precondition.

We have seen that cultural assimilation of Polish immigrants in general, viewed in the perspective of culture learning, is related to (a) relative interactions with Canadians vs. other Polish immigrants, and (b) relative exposure to communication from Canadian vs. Polish mass media. Furthermore, the interactions and media exposures have different relationships with

different aspects of cultural assimilation, depending on the role which interpersonal or media communication plays in the learning of the particular culture element involved. One unresolved question, however, is the direction of the relationship. We would like to show that it is through interactions and mass media that an immigrant has learned the content of the new culture and become culturally assimilated. Yet the possibility exists that those immigrants who interacted with Canadians and used the Canadian mass media might be the ones who already had norms and values similar to those of North America even before they left their homeland. Even though no prior immigration measures were available, this possibility can be pursued along several lines.

Suppose those immigrants who were classified highly assimilated by our measures had been that way even before they left Poland. We may then ask what kind of people they were. What might be some of the antecedent conditions for such deviation from the Polish culture on their part? We have already seen that education is not likely such an antecedent condition, as education was significantly correlated only with child rearing norms, and not with other indicators of cultural assimilation. Another possible antecedent condition is urban vs. rural background. It could be that those immigrants with an urban background were closer to the North American norms and values in the first place. Of the 64 respondents, 22 came from urban areas. No significant correlations were found between the urban-rural dichotomy and any of the indicators of assimilation. A third possibility is age at the time the immigrant arrived, in the sense that the younger ones might be less traditional than the older ones and not so deeply anchored in the Polish culture. Age upon arrival was thus correlated with the assimilation indicators.[13] Except that those who arrived younger tended to prefer English ($r = -.25$, $p < .05$), largely because of higher language facility, no other significant correlations were

found. Nor was occupational status correlated with any of the assimilation indicators. Another rival explanation is residential patterns.[14] It is conceivable that those Polish immigrants who were less inclined toward the Canadian culture might have wanted to live close to each other and thus would have had less opportunity for interaction with the Canadians. An examination of their residences, however, showed this to be not the case. Unlike the early day Chinese immigrants who confined themselves within a few blocks in downtown Victoria, these Polish immigrants lived in widely dispersed areas in and around Victoria. Of the 64 families interviewed, only two lived on the same street, and none lived in the same block.

Even though we cannot completely rule out the possibility of prior immigration differences, such an argument lacks plausibility, because one cannot explain why these originally non-traditional immigrants, if any, should interact with others and use mass media in the different ways as they did. For instance, why would those who had non-traditional child rearing norms choose to expose themselves to the Canadian media, while those who had a distaste for Polish food chose not to interact with other Polish immigrants? All these considerations, including positive as well as negative evidence, would together lend credence to our contention that cultural assimilation of immigrants is a result, at least in part, of their interactions with members of the receiving society and their exposure to mass media of the host country.

Having demonstrated the two major conditions of cultural assimilation, we shall now examine the political and economic consequences of cultural assimilation for the immigrants. The hypothesis, following Park (1930) and Aberle et al (1950), was that those immigrants who are more highly assimilated culturally will achieve a higher degree of political and economic participation.

This hypothesis was tested by using the six indicators of cultural assimilation along with education and language facility in a multiple regressional analysis to predict political participation and economic participation.[15] The results are presented in Table 2.

(Table 2 about here)

The multiple correlation between the eight predictors and political participation (R=.46, F=1.84, df=8/55, ns) was not significant, and largely due to the contribution of one variable, food preparation norms. The multiple correlation with economic participation (R=.48, F=2.06, df=8/55, p about .05) approached the .05 level of significance. It may be noted that former education and language facility contributed almost nothing to the economic participation of an immigrant, but current knowledge and preference to use English did. These findings suggest that it is not former education, but current knowledge, and not the ability to use the language, but actual preference for the new language, that will help an immigrant to get ahead in the new society.

The finding that cultural assimilation is related to economic participation but not to political participation needs further consideration. We have noted that the various indicators of assimilation we have used correspond to the "cultural assimilation," while the political and economic participation would be what Gordon refers to as the "structural assimilation." Gordon has suggested that cultural assimilation may or may not be accompanied or followed by structural assimilation. However, our data would suggest that the relation between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation may not simply be all or none. Rather, before we consider this relationship, it may be necessary first to make a distinction between two kinds of structural assimilation, i.e., the assumption of economic roles vs. the assumption of political roles. Whether cultural assimilation and structural assimilation are related or not may depend

on which kind of structural assimilation we are speaking of and on the extent of institutional limitation placed on the particular kind of structural assimilation.

Porter (1965) has extensively documented the ethnic basis of inequality in the social structure of Canada. From our data, it would seem that the inequality and institutional limitation might be somewhat less pronounced in the economic sphere, where those immigrants who have attained a high degree of cultural assimilation appear to be able to assume equitable economic roles and share the benefit. In the political sphere, however, the institutional limitation might be more evident. Thus the highly assimilated immigrants seemed to be no more participant than those of a lower degree of cultural assimilation, perhaps because the immigrants could perceive little usefulness in this kind of participation within the context of a differential social environment.

SUMMARY

The problem of assimilation of immigrants was analyzed in the general framework of intercultural communication and culture learning. Results from a survey of 64 first generation Polish immigrants in Victoria, Canada, supported the validity of this theoretical framework. It was found that assimilation into the North American culture was, generally speaking, positively related to interactions with Canadians and exposure to Canadian mass media of communication, and negatively related to interactions with other Polish immigrants and exposure to Polish media of communication. However, the specific nature of the impact of interactions and media on cultural assimilation appeared to vary, depending on the particular role which interpersonal or media communication plays in the learning of the various culture contents. It was also found that those immigrants who were more highly assimilated

culturally tended to attain a somewhat higher degree of economic participation in the new society, although political participation was not found to be significantly related to cultural assimilation. It seems that in the Canadian society the ethnically based institutional barriers might be less pronounced in the economic sphere of participation than in the political sphere of participation.

Table 1

Bivariate and Multiple Correlations with Assimilation Indicators

	Child Rearing Norms	Food Preparation Norms	Cultural Group Identity	Language Preference	Value Orientations	Knowledge About Canadian Events
Interactions with Canadians	.12 (-.06)[a]	.10 (.02)	.06 (-.04)	.47*** (.26)	.09 (-.09)	.03 (-.16)
Interactions with Polish	-.09 (.02)	-.33** (-.25)	-.36** (-.36)	-.42*** (-.10)	-.16 (.00)	.05 (.24)
Outgroup vs. Ingroup Interactions	.27* (.21)	.23 (.01)	.18 (.10)	.57*** (.39)	.32** (.17)	.23 (.29)
Exposure to Canadian Media	.38** (.23)	.03 (-.01)	-.11 (-.02)	.00 (-.08)	.33* (.31)	.27* (.34)
Exposure to Polish Media	.15 (.13)	-.30* (-.26)	-.15 (-.06)	-.15 (-.01)	-.25* (-.21)	-.07 (.05)
Education	.39** (.22)	.09 (.05)	-.19 (-.23)	.03 (-.18)	.26* (.04)	.11 (-.22)
Language Facility	.05 (-.03)	.25* (.13)	.00	.42*** (.31)	.33** (.26)	.38** (.46)
Multiple Correlation	.49	.45	.45	.72	.55	.56

a Beta weights in regressional equation are shown in parentheses.

* Significant at .05 level for two-tailed t-test.

** Significant at .01 level for two-tailed t-test.

*** Significant at .001 level for two-tailed t-test.

Table 2

Bivariate and Multiple Correlations Between Assimilation and Political and Economic Participation

	Political Participation	Economic Participation
Child Rearing Norms	-.08 (-.04)[a]	-.08 (-.02)
Food Preparation Norms	.43*** (.41)	.04 (.11)
Cultural Group Identity	.18 (.09)	.05 (.01)
Language Preference	.15 (-.02)	.27* (.31)
Value Orientations	.09 (-.05)	-.02 (-.22)
Knowledge About Canadian Events	-.02 (.00)	.33** (.42)
Education	-.02 (-.05)	-.10 (-.05)
Language Facility	.19 (.13)	.05 (-.17)
Multiple Correlation	.46	.48

[a]Beta weights in regressional equation are shown in parentheses.

* Significant at .05 level for two-tailed t-test.
** Significant at .01 level for two-tailed t-test.
*** Significant at .001 level for two-tailed t-test.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The author wishes to thank Dr. Robert B. Lane, University of Victoria, and Dr. Edwin B. Parker, Stanford University, for critical reading of an earlier draft. He appreciates the assistance of his former students at Victoria, particularly Mr. Dennis Hartman and Miss Cheryl Zeh, in conducting this research.
2. Metropolitan Victoria, which includes Victoria, Esquimalt, Oak Bay, Saanich, Central Saanich, Sidney, and a number of small unorganized areas, had a total population of 154,152 as of June 1, 1961. See "Census of Canada, Bulletin CT-23, Victoria," Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963.
3. The Polish Association is a voluntary organization whose membership is open to individuals of Polish descent and their spouses. It operates the White Eagle Hall in Victoria, which is used for religious services on Sunday and for social gatherings on other days by the Polish residents. Because of the relatively small size of the Polish community in Victoria, the Association believed it knew the whereabouts of most of the Polish families in the area. Since the purpose of this study was the testing of relationships, rather than the measuring of degree of assimilation per se, the possibility of not including a small fraction of Polish residents in the survey does not pose a serious sampling problem.
4. Of the 64 respondents, 28 had been in Canada for over 20 years, 20 for 15-19 years, 5 for 10-14 years, 5 for 5-9 years, 5 for 2-4 years, and one for less than 2 years.
5. Sixteen (25%) of the respondents had only up to elementary school education; 41 (64%) had high school education (18 completed grade 7 or 8; 14 completed grade 9, 10, or 11; 9 completed grade 12); 7 (11%) had gone to college.

These percentages were very close to the education breakdown in the 1961 census data for the adult population in Metropolitan Victoria, where 26.7% had only up to elementary school education, 63% had high school education, and 10.3% had gone to college. (See "1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin CT-23, Victoria").

6. Comparison of the Polish sample with the adult population in Victoria in terms of occupations was not feasible because the census did not use occupational status as a basis of classification.

7. The measurement of cultural assimilation followed in part the variables suggested by Johnston (1963). Ths specific questions were formulated after consultation with two Polish informants who came to Canada as teen-agers with their parents and were now in their twenties. Being sufficiently knowledgeable about life both in Poland and in Canada, they were able to offer suggestions as to how the Polish and Canadian norms would differ. The two informants were not included in the subsequent interviews. Child rearing norms were measured by four questions on how early a girl can start dating boys, how strongly the respondent disapproves of the way Canadian parents bring up their children, how severely would the respondent punish his child if caught stealing, and at what age would he stop spanking a child. Foor preparation style was measured by whether the wife usually prepares food in Polish or Canadian style and whether the family serves Polish food on special holidays. Cultural group identity was measured by five items: preference of a Polish vs. a Canadian for daughter-in-law and for son-in-law, concern about children forgetting Polish customs, visits or planned visits to Poland, and prominence of Canada in self-identification. Value orientations were measured by five questions similar to those developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). These covered

ways of reaching a decision in the Polish community, ways of seeking help when needed, innovation tendency in job performance, criteria for choosing a representative for the Polish community, and kinship obligations. Language preference was measured by whether the respondent uses Polish or English when talking to his wife, to children, and to relatives and other Polish individuals, and whether the respondent thinks children in Polish families should be able to speak Polish. Current knowledge was measured by how much the respondent knows about Canada's role in NATO, about Prime Minister Trudeau, and about a recent proposal by the premier of British Columbia to combine the ten provinces of Canada into five. For all the indicators above, higher scores represent higher cultural assimilation.

8. Interactions with Canadians were measured by the frequency the respondent visits Canadian work mates after working hours, the recency of his visit with any Canadian family, and whether he belongs to any Canadian social clubs. Interactions with Poles were measured by the frequency the respondent attends the local Polish church, attends parties at the local Polish Association, and visits kinship relatives and other Polish friends. Preference of outgroup (Canadian) vs. ingroup (Polish) interactions was measured by whether the family more frequently visits Canadian or Polish homes when going out, whether the family invites mostly Canadians or Poles to dinner, and whether the best friends of the family are Canadian or Polish.

9. Exposure to Canadian culture through mass media was measured by whether the respondent subscribes to any Canadian newspapers, whether he regularly watches news programs on television, and whether he has ever taken any English lessons. Exposure to Polish culture through mass media was measured by whether the respondent reads any Polish language newspapers or Polish

language magazines.

10. The use of multiple regressional test is preferred to non-parametric tests because the former permits the kind of multivariate analysis required for testing our hypotheses. Although the variables used in this research were measured by ordinal scales, the findings by Labovitz (1970) have demonstrated that they can be treated as if they conformed to interval scales.

11. Language facility was rated by the interviewer on a four-point scale. Twenty-nine of the Polish respondents had no difficulty with English, 27 had some difficulty, 3 had considerable difficulty but were still able to communicate, 5 could not communicate in English and had to use an interpreter for the interview. In three cases, the interpreter was a young Polish lady; in the remaining two cases, a member of the family acted as the interpreter.

12. Analysis of variance test was used to test the significance of the multiple correlations. All the independent variables in the hypotheses were used in the multiple regressional analysis whether or not they were significantly correlated with the assimilation indicators. If either education or language facility had a zero correlation with an assimilation indicator, then it was not included in the multiple regressional analysis for that indicator. This happened in the case of cultural group identity, where the degrees of freedom were 6 and 57 respectively. For the other multiple correlations, the degrees of freedom were 7 and 56. For the bivariate correlations, two-tailed t-tests were used throughout, the degrees of freedom being 1 and 62.

To test the assumption of linearity, the analysis of variance test of curvilinearity was used. For the bivariate correlations employed in computing

the multiple correlations in Tables 1 and 2, the only curvilinear relationship found was between exposure to Canadian media and food preparation ($p < .05$). This single and rather weak curvilinear relation is not considered important enough to outweigh the advantage of multiple regressional analysis for the entire data.

13. Nearly all the respondents had reached adulthood when they arrived in Canada: 3 were between 15 and 19 years old; 22 between 20 and 29; 26 between 30 and 39; 12 between 40 and 49; and one above 50.

14. For instance, Lieberson has found residential segregation to be related to ethnic assimilation. See Lieberson (1961).

15. Political participation was measured by five questions: the number of times the respondent has attended a school meeting in the current school year, whether he is a member of a union at the place of work, how recently he attended a union meeting if he is a member, and whether he voted in the last municipal election and federal election. The term "political" is used in the broad sense of group decision making. Economic participation was measured by the economic wellbeing of the family, the index being the number and conditions of the following items the family has: television, electric stove, refrigerator, automatic clothes washer, automatic clothes dryer, automatic dish washer, and automobile(s).